

"Lion feeders, lamb-like fighters....."—DRYDEN.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION. — On Friday, the 5th instant, a grand dinner was given by the merchants and bankers, to the Spanish Deputies, at the City of London Tavern, at which, it appears, that the king's ministers attended. At this dinner, there were, it is said, 400 persons present; and that they had upon the table, *two thousand five hundred pounds weight of turtle*, that being merely one article of their food, another article consisting of *forty or fifty haunches of venison*. How many hundreds of wretches have worked like galley slaves, upon bread and water, to supply this gluttonous repast! It was a feast well calculated to inspire the sentiments, which were uttered in the form of toasts, and, through which toasts, the fact has been published to the world, that we are to be taxed for carrying on a war in Spain, not for the sake of giving liberty and happiness to the people of that wretched country, but for that of restoring the hateful despotism that had so long prevailed, and the last act of which was, to introduce a French army, and to give up the royal authority to Frenchmen. — In any other light than as the vehicle of this declaration, the gluttonous meeting would be unworthy of notice; for, of what consequence is it to Buonaparté what we say, or think, about his attempts upon Spain? And, especially, of what consequence is it to any one, what the London gormandizers say, or think about it? Napoleon would laugh at the idea of an attack from the *turtle patriots*, who, like the animal from which they take their name, would be easily caught napping, and, if once overthrown, would quietly lie still he should find it convenient to destroy them. If we could beat Napoleon with toasts and songs and tunes and doggerel and with the hoisting of flags, we should have beaten him long ago. The last time I saw the English flag hoisted in union with that of any other nation, it was intertwined with that of France, and, in the Guildhall of this same city of London, they waved over the heads of the Mayor, the Aldermen, and Mr. Otto! Upon that occasion Buonaparté's health was, I think, the second toast, and, in point of satisfaction, given by it to the company, it hardly seemed to yield to

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the cart-loads of sweet-meats, which the tawdry wives and daughters of the citizens were, with both hands at once, cramming down their throats; and, who will lay me a guinea, that, if Napoleon were to give peace and security to us, upon condition that we would leave him to work his will with Spain, a very great majority of those who devoured the 2,500 pounds weight of turtle would not jump at the offer, and express great anxiety and uneasiness for the sending away of those very Spanish deputies, who have now to support the calamity of their caresses? — The fourth toast was, we are told, "*King Ferdinand VII.*," which was, the reporter says, received with loud applause, and even with enthusiasm. To give this toast was, it is very probable, the *principal object* of the meeting. In the king's speech, at the close of the last session of parliament, there was a talk about *loyalty*, but nothing was hinted as to whom it was the object of this country to set over Spain; in the king's answer to the address of the city of London, he is more explicit, declaring that his *sole* object is to restore the *ancient* government of Spain; but, still, there was room for doubt. This meeting seems to have been regarded as the best vehicle of conveying to the public, in the first instance, the fact, that we are to pay and to fight for the Bourbons. The king's ministers were present; one of them was the orator for the Spanish Deputies; and, we may, therefore, safely conclude, that they approved of the toast. Indeed, it is well known, that, upon such occasions, the toasts and all the proceedings are generally laid down in writing, beforehand, and are submitted to the ministers, without whose consent not a sentiment is publicly uttered. — We may, therefore, I think, look upon it as a settled point, that the object of our government is to restore the House of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, and that, too, without any limitations whatever. This I think a very unjustifiable enterprize. So far from its doing good, supposing it to succeed, I am convinced it will do harm to every nation in Europe, and particularly to *this nation*. We shall, moreover, if it be the object to place Ferdinand upon the throne, be engaged in supporting an *usurpation*; for, is it not

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notorious that he *deposed* his father, and that the father has formally protested against the assumption of the royal authority by his son? "The father was an *idiot*," say some; but, is that really a sufficient reason for his son's pushing him from the throne? Kings would be in a perilous way, if, upon a pretence of their being idiots, they could, at any moment, be deposed. But, we are told, that the old king *abdicated* his throne in favour of his son Ferdinand. And, has not Ferdinand since abdicated that same throne in favour of the emperor Napoleon? If one was a forced abdication the other was not less so; and, in the latter case, there has been no protest at all, while, in the former case, there was a protest. So that, if any body be rightfully king of Spain, it is the old king and not the young one, unless we allow of the validity of the several acts of abdication; and, then, Joseph Buonaparté is the rightful king of Spain.—The fact now appears to be, that there were two parties in Spain, one for the old king and the Prince of Peace, and one for the young king, then the Prince of Asturias; that the latter did, at last, prevail; that they caused the old king to abdicate his throne; and that, after Ferdinand had been frightened away by Murat, they rose in arms to resist the French and for the purpose of causing Ferdinand to be restored. It is, therefore, this party only who are fighting and writing against the French; and, I am much afraid, that their object is not that of establishing freedom in Spain. If this be the case, Napoleon will be very little affected by the surrender of Dupont and his army. He has not a *people*, but merely a faction to contend with; a faction has, and can have, no fixed principle of action; difficulties will produce disagreements amongst the leaders; and, one sweeping defeat puts an end to the insurrection. The war now appears to be not for freedom from oppression; not for the purpose of keeping out a conqueror, not for the rights of the people; but merely for a choice of despots. It is a war, in which two rival kings are contending for the mastership over an enslaved nation; and, as to the people of Spain, they have, if this be the case, really no more interest in the issue, than the sheep or the swine of Spain. These latter will not, I warrant them, be killed unless they have good flesh upon their bones; and the former will not be robbed, unless they possess something worth the taking away. If a man, or a nation, be enslaved, it is no matter who, or what, is his master. What signifies it to a Spaniard, whether his dinner be taken

from him by order of Joseph Buonaparté, or by order of Ferdinand VII? Why, the man that will fight for the sake of a choice between the two must be a downright brute. —We have all along been expressing our hopes, that the *example* of Spain may have a powerful effect in *France*, that the French people may catch the flame, and finally shake off the yoke, which Napoleon has had the address to put upon their necks. But, if the war in Spain be carried on for Ferdinand, and, even if it should restore him to the throne, what good is that likely to do in France? What *flame* will there be for the people of France to catch? How are they to profit from *that example*? Or, is there any one so very very stupid as to suppose, that the people of France, who, in spite of all Napoleon's acts of despotism, do now possess the lands and houses of former nobility, clergy, and rich men, will, for the mere pleasure of having a change of masters, give up all those extensive and valuable possessions? If, indeed, the Spaniards were to beat Napoleon, and establish a new government, promising the enjoyment of liberty and property, then their *example* would be powerful with the French, and might lead to consequences the most important, in all the nations of Europe.—The turtle-patriots, while they are toasting king Ferdinand VII, very consistently toast Ferdinand IV, king of Sicily; but, upon such an occasion, and in such a company, what had a toast in behalf of *liberty* to do? They toasted success to "our brave associates in liberty and arms." If we are to be the *associates* of the subjects of Ferdinand, in *liberty* as well as in arms, we want no conjurer to tell us what degree of liberty the turtle-patriots would suffer us to enjoy. The turtle-patriots do, in fact, wish for none of us to enjoy any thing worthy of the name of liberty. They would execrate the cause of the Spaniards, if they thought them engaged in the cause of liberty; and, if they wish success to the arms of those who are opposed to Napoleon, in Spain, it is because they dread the effect of an overthrow of that system of government, by which the people were held in slavery the most disgraceful. If the contest is to be between Ferdinand and Joseph, my decided opinion is that the latter will remain king of Spain; and, whatever *my* wishes may be, the turtle-patriots would rather that Joseph should be king, than that the war should terminate with the establishment of a free constitution.—In toasting Ferdinand the turtle-patriots were toasting an *enemy* of their country; a king, if they insist upon his being one, who is



war against England; for, no treaty has been made with him; no peace has been made with him, or with any person acting under his authority. It has been declared, that we are at peace with the Spanish nation; but, not a word has been said about peace with a king of Spain. Ferdinand is in France, and the last act which we hear of, as his, was a declaration that he had made a voluntary surrender of his authority as king of Spain, and as heir to the Spanish throne. But, the turtle-patriots wanted a something to set up against Buonaparte, and it mattered, to them, very little indeed who, or what, it was. It was a dread of Buonaparte, and not a love of freedom, by which they were inspired. They will not, however, get the nation to adopt their sentiments. Hundreds and thousands would willingly venture even their lives in the cause of Spanish freedom; but the turtle-patriots will find nobody fool enough to hazard any thing for the sake of Ferdinand VII, whom there is no man, not a speculator in one way or another, that does not wish to keep where he is, as being the fittest place for him, who gave up the sword of Francis I. —The victory of CASTANOS and DE TILLY over DUPONT is of great importance, be the object of the war what it may; for, it will tend to *lengthen* the contest; and, if there be a long contest, let us hope, that new men will arise, and, by degrees, extinguish the miserable tools of the despot. If the people have to bleed for what they win; if they suffer severely for the purpose of keeping out a foreign despot, let us hope, that they will not again yield their necks to a despot of native growth. —This COUNT DE TILLY is, I believe, a *Frenchman*, a circumstance, which, I suppose, the newspaper editors thought of too little interest to notice. In 1798, or 1799, he was amongst the emigrants in Philadelphia, where he was married, by a methodist preacher, to a daughter of the late Mr. Bingham, and which daughter, after having been divorced from the Count by an act of the legislature of the State, was, I have heard, married to a son of Sir Francis Baring. The Count, from precisely what *consideration* I know not, left Philadelphia, soon after the marriage, and it was said, that he went to Spain. If it be the same man, and I see no reason to suspect the contrary, he is now about forty years of age, a very gay and very clever man, and a man likely to be engaged in dashing enterprizes. If the Count and I were to meet again, we should hardly forbear expressing our admiration of the freaks of Madam Fortune, who chose to

send him to fight the battles of the Spaniards, while she set the family of Baring, at the head of the turtle-patriots, to celebrate his deeds in arms, and to number him amongst "our gallant associates in liberty." This shews, that, as Rousseau observes, "we are all good for something or other." Some for fighting and some for having wives.

DUKE OF YORK. —I have lately read, in several of the news-papers, a great deal about this "illustrious person," as they all have the grace and good-manners to call him; but, though I have been long enough used to their language, I do not distinctly understand what they mean. It would seem, that there had been a design, on the part of somebody or other in the government, to send the Duke as commander in chief of our armies in Spain and Portugal; and, I supposed, of course, that this measure was to be adopted, because, at present, there was no danger of invasion, and, of course, no immediate need of any exertion of the skill and courage of the royal person in question. But, from an article in the Morning Chronicle, which has just reached me, I am inclined to think, that I have misconceived the meaning of these writers, who, though differing very widely upon almost every other subject, perfectly agree upon this. I have been not a little surprized at this uncommon coincidence in sentiment, and have made some very earnest efforts to get at a correct account of the cause of it. At first, I attributed it to the general dread of leaving this island without a Commander in Chief, at a moment so critical, when an unlucky accident to our fleet, co-operating with an easterly wind, might, in twenty four hours, have brought fifty thousand Frenchmen, with a General Brune (Lord preserve us!) at their head. But, I soon found, that this dread was not so prevalent as I had imagined; and, from the article I am about to quote, it would appear, that the objection to the departure of the royal commander had arisen from different motives. It seems, from this article, that some one has written, and caused to be printed, an address to the cabinet ministers, censuring them for listening to the public voice as to the talked of appointment of the royal soldier as commander in chief in Spain and Portugal. — "We have," says the editor of the Morning Chronicle, in his paper of the 9th instant, "seen a printed address to the cabinet ministers (which, however, we believe is only confidentially handed about), upon the subject of the appointment of his royal



"highness the Duke of York to the com-  
 "mand of the army destined for foreign  
 "service. The object of it is, to persuade  
 "the present ministers of the crown that the  
 "judgment generally passed upon the merits  
 "of his royal highness is most injurious—  
 "that it cannot be justified by a review of  
 "his past services, but that it has been  
 "hastily formed upon the false representa-  
 "tions of newspapers and other periodical  
 "writers, who delight in nothing so much  
 "as in severity of remark; and, in fine,  
 "that ministers, instead of suffering them-  
 "selves to be guided by public opinion, ought  
 "to govern it, by acting in defiance of the  
 "popular sentiment. The writer, however,  
 "has been rather injudicious in the choice  
 "of his arguments, when it is considered  
 "to whom they are addressed, for, without  
 "affecting at all to disguise the uniform  
 "failure of the military enterprises of the  
 "Duke of York, he endeavours to shew  
 "that all his failures ought to be attributed  
 "not to any want of science in his royal  
 "highness, but to the administrations un-  
 "der which he acted. The siege of Dun-  
 "kirk, for example, he ascribes to the  
 "silliness of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues,  
 "in suffering themselves to be deceived by  
 "a *ruse de guerre* of the cabinet of Vienna;  
 "and the unfortunate capitulation of the  
 "Helder, he represents as the inevitable  
 "result of General Abercrombie's impru-  
 "dence, in allowing himself to be influenced  
 "by the advice of Johnstone, the smuggler,  
 "and the total want of judgment manifested  
 "at that time by Lord Melville, who was  
 "at the head of the war department. The  
 "former part of this insinuation is of too  
 "foul and false a nature not to be repelled  
 "with scorn by every one who recollects  
 "the exalted character of General Aber-  
 "crombie, and the accusation against Lord  
 "Melville we shall leave to those to answer  
 "who feel more interested than we do in  
 "that noble person's character. But upon  
 "the whole, we do not think the present  
 "address very well calculated to make  
 "proselytes in the present cabinet. One  
 "obvious inference which the public  
 "would draw from it (were they permit-  
 "ted to see it) is this, that when, in  
 "the case of any great military disaster,  
 "the officer who commands is not brought  
 "before a court martial, the minister  
 "who appointed him ought to be im-  
 "peached."—It is not for me, who  
 "live at such a distance from the all-enlighten-  
 "ing metropolis, to pretend to meddle much  
 "with such "high matter." Whether,  
 "therefore, the judgement generally passed

upon the merits of the royal commander be  
 correct or not, I shall not attempt to decide;  
 but, one thing I may, I think, venture to  
 assert, without the risk of committing an  
 error, and that is, that if, from whatever  
 cause, the ministers, have, as this news pa-  
 per insinuates, refused to suffer the royal  
 chieftain to go to Spain after application  
 made by him for that purpose, they are, in  
 justice to that royal person, bound to lay that  
 cause before the public, seeing that the royal  
 chieftain *still has the command* of all the  
 numerous troops kept on foot for the purpose  
 of defending this country against the very  
 same sort of enemy, that he would have to  
 encounter in Spain or Portugal. This writer  
 talks of the "*uniform failure*" of the royal  
 captain; but, without stopping to inquire  
 into the fact, is it, if such fact be true, a  
 good reason for not sending the royal com-  
 mander *abroad*, and also a good reason for  
 keeping him in the chief command *at home*,  
 where the *emoluments* of the office are so  
 very great? Would not "*failure*" here,  
 be as fatal to us as failure in Spain? It can-  
 not be that this is the real cause; for, if it  
 were possible that any set of ministers would,  
 for such a reason, not suffer a commander  
 to go abroad, and were still willing to suffer  
 him to remain commander in chief at home,  
 it is quite impossible that any man, I will not  
 say any prince of the blood, but any thing  
 having even the outward shape of manhood,  
 should continue in such command. Why,  
 the dogs in the street would bark, the cats  
 would miaow, the very chickens would coc-  
 coc-coe, at the approach of a creature so  
 loathsomely base. Dismiss from your mind,  
 therefore, my honest reader, all the notions,  
 which may have been imbibed through the  
 insinuations of articles like that above-  
 quoted; and believe, like a faithful and  
 loyal subject, that there is some very suffi-  
 cient and honourable reason for the royal com-  
 mander's remaining at home. I beg you to  
 remark, too, that these insinuations are  
 thrown out by men, who are but too apt to  
 accuse others of a want of attachment to the  
 person and race of the sovereign. I always  
 said, that, when it came to the pinch, we  
 should be found to stick most steadily to the  
 royal family. Their flatterers now show a  
 disposition to skulk; but, I trust, we shall  
 be firm at their side, as long as there is a fea-  
 ther and a drop of ink to be found.

Botley, August 10, 1808.

#### SPANISH REVOLUTION.

Sir;—It is a fact to be lamented, but  
 which we collect from daily experience, that  
 integrity of principles and virtuous demeanour



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are not always rewarded with kindness and esteem; but this reflection with a man who soars above the sordid baseness of the world, fortunately stimulates, not damps, the generous ardour of his mind. I find, Mr. Cobbett, that your sentiments upon the subject of Spanish patriotism have met with the disapprobation of a correspondent who subscribes himself "Scoto-Britannus." How long that gentleman may have plumed and cherished himself under the wing of sovereign power, I know not; but though his gratitude may be applauded in his universal zeal for potentates, not even excepting the family of the Bourbons, I cannot hold that virtue as an apology either for ignorance or wilful misrepresentation. Your correspondent's observations, in the introductory part of his letter, on the right of ceding a sovereignty, are built upon the following position, which Scoto-Britannus lays down as an axiom; namely, that "In private property no man can cede his right of inheritance or possession. This right belongs not to him exclusively, but to his family. He is a mere life renter. From his ancestors his inheritance was acquired, and to his own posterity it must be faithfully transmitted." Now, Sir, there must really be a strange vernacular property in the atmosphere of Scotland that could induce a man to make so modest and extraordinary a declaration as the present. That because a man derives an inheritance from his ancestors, it must be therefore faithfully transmitted to his posterity, is so adverse to truth, that daily and hourly experience contradicts the assertion. Do we not every day see a profligate heir dissipating the estate which his ancestor has left him? Are not men daily disposing of inheritances which they enjoy by descent, by public auction, and private contract? So contrary to the fact is the assertion of Scoto-Britannus, that the perpetuating estates in families called for legislative interference so long as four centuries ago, and the thing is rendered impossible by a solemn act of parliament. But what occurs to me, Mr. Cobbett, as the most extraordinary, is, that this strange gratuitous assertion should be made for the purpose of establishing that "a sovereign is the delegate of his subjects, to whom, according to the nature of the government, is entrusted the management of the public affairs, and the furtherance of the laws of the nation." I accord perfectly with Scoto Britannus that "a sovereign is the delegate of his subjects," but I really should have sailed round the compass many times before I should have

enforced such an opinion by a discovery that property was unalienable, from which (if it were true) the only inference I can collect is, that no act of the people can prevent the crown from lineally descending; in which case, as it should seem, the people are divested of all possible right of interfering with the crown. Whether monarchical power takes its origin from a contract with the people, or exists as of Divine right, has been for ages asserted either way, as party interest has predominated; but what judgment a dispassionate unbiassed mind would form, who, without *supernatural grace*, collects his information from the *experience of things* as they pass before his eyes in this *material world*, I think there can be little doubt. Mr. Hume has observed, that theory is in favour of all kingly power originating in popular contract, but that experience is against it. How it happens that the latter is true I should imagine to be this; that by the *supineness and inactivity of one side of the contracting parties*, the other has been suffered to establish a *power which has enabled him to hold the contract at defiance*; and though there be an axiom in the English constitution "that no right can exist without a remedy," yet I fear it is an axiom very often incapable of being realized. Now, Mr. Cobbett, I perfectly accord with your sentiments respecting Spain. I hold it, with you, to be the bounden duty of this country to give the Spanish Patriots the most *disinterested* assistance in her power. Spain is now in arms against the universal enemy of law and liberty, and it becomes every man of independent principles to aid and assist her in resisting the tyrant's grasp; but in so doing, what right there can exist to interfere in the internal regulation of the country, with whom our arms are to be united, quite passes my conception. Scoto-Britannus, who deals in the marvellous in point of argument, is for making the restoration of the Bourbons a *sine quâ non* of our assistance; and as a reason, he asserts "that the practice of interfering in the regulation of internal government terminates always in the *detrimment or ruin*, either of the *assisting* or *of the assisted*;" and to exemplify this, he states an historical fact, that the ancient Britons, by calling in the Saxons and Normans to assist them in organizing their legislature, became the slaves of their assistants. How this can shew that we ought to impose on Spain; as the terms of our assistance, that Ferdinand the VIIth, or any other of the Bourbons, should be established as their monarch, I profess not to have sagacity enough to penetrate. If the people of Spain are



the delegates, in whom the power of appointing a monarch or ruler is inherent, nothing can be so clear, as, that, if they wish to be governed by a Bourbon, they will adopt that mode of government; but if they have no such inclination, and we interfere and insist on their being governed by Ferdinand the VIIth, or in any measure dictate a government to them, what are we doing but following the very footsteps of those Saxons and Normans who displease Scoto-Britannus for having most unprincipally subjugated the ancient Britons? Scoto-Britannus, (who probably nestles himself in some snug birth within the air of royalty) I rather apprehend, thinks it improper to term those slaves who have a monarch set over them, though against their inclination. But if Scoto-Britannus will consult the lexicon of that favourite of his country, I mean Dr. Johnson, he will discover, that slavery may be defined to be the incapacity of a sane rational mind to act according to its inclination; and that it would be as much slavery for the Spanish nation to have a Ferdinand the VIIth reign over them, if contrary to their inclination, as it would have been for the Swedes to have had a jack-boot for a prime minister, which their indulgent master, Charles the XIIth, was inclined once to afford them. I consider, Mr. Cobbett, that in affording aid to Spain, we are governed, or ought to be so, by a principle, generous in itself, and which can alone entitle our assistance to the approbation of an impartial world; I mean the principle of detestation of tyrants and despots of every description and of every climate; that, as a country enjoying more genuine liberty and freedom than can probably be found in any other spot on the civilized globe, we are anxious to disseminate that freedom to others, and to stem the strides of ghastly despotism, which, in the person of the French emperor, seeks the destruction of each latent spark of liberty. If this be the basis of our conduct towards Spain, I most fervently hope it will prove successful; if it be not, the same fate will most likely accompany it, which generally attends, sooner or later, all base and servile acts; and instead of affording the future historian an agreeable theme for panegyrising the independent spirit of his country, will reluctantly compel him to throw down his pen, or, what will be more grating, to blast her character by recording the transaction.—W. F. S.—*Lincoln's Inn, August 2, 1808.*

MR. COKE OF NORFOLK.

SIR.—I have been much charmed and edified by Mr. Thomas Roope's eloquent

and glowing panegyric on "MR. COKE OF NORFOLK," which appeared in your Register a few weeks since.—I do most sincerely congratulate our "beloved representative," (to whom I am zealously attached), on the inestimable acquisition of *such* a partizan! He has long been strenuously supported by a great proportion of our "large-acred men," who have powerful and necessary influence over the *free suffrages* of "independent yeomen." He has also been not a little indebted to other friends, who can play with consummate skill every card of the Party Game, from the knave to the deuce. But, what are all these, compared with a Man of Genius, gifted with that magic mastery of words, which, in every free government, ancient or modern, has been known to have such astonishing effects on the minds of the people? I cannot doubt, that these voluntary and generous efforts of *such* a man as Mr. Thomas Roope, on behalf of *such* an one as "Mr. Coke of Norfolk," will very materially promote the good cause, and forward the wishes of the most truly "independent yeomen" of our county. I particularly anticipate the happiest effects, from the very judicious publication of that panegyric, in a handsome separate form, (lest your Register, Mr. Cobbett, should not give it sufficient publicity), from the liberal presentation of copies to the Coffee-rooms in Norwich,—and from the distribution of them among proper persons, (I have one) even at that "*scene that is NOT KNOWN ELSEWHERE, the Sheep-shearing at Holkham.*"—Who this "Mr. Thomas Roope" is, I cannot say that I exactly know. He now first appears before the public; and, like other mighty geniuses, bursts forth at once in meridian splendour. He is obviously a very shrewd observer, a very logical reasoner, and a very fine writer. Certainly, Mr. Coke has not such another writer to his back. The *doer* of late addresses, &c. I do not think worth mentioning. But there is Dr. Parr—what is *he* to "Mr. Thomas Roope?" When a barrel of gunpowder explodes, certainly it makes a dazzling flash, an alarming report, a prodigious deal of smoke, and no little stink. But the first two are over in a moment, and the others last but a very short time. They are nothing to the celestial beams which permanently warm, invigorate, and enlighten. Most certainly, it is not too bold a figure, to say that "Mr. Thomas Roope" writes with a sun-beam!—Such is my decided opinion of him as an author. I can have no doubt, that he is moreover, "a gentleman of enlightened mind and libe-



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“ral education,” (as he tells us “all Mr. Coke’s tenants are”) one of “the most learned men we can boast, and of the best practical, liberal, and enlightened cultivators of land;”—one of “the men most reputed for their agricultural knowledge;”—a “fit associate for such dignified men as Dukes of Bedford, and Mr. Arthur Young;”—most worthy to be “courted by Mr. Coke;”—and one of “the first breeders of stock of every description.”—But, Mr. Cobbett, among all his excellencies, agricultural, literary, or philosophical, I am most particularly struck with these two—with that “honest pride” of conscious genius, which prompts him to pit *himself* plump against *you*, in the strife of “opinion”—and with that artful delicacy in insinuating censure, which must, I should think, make you feel ingenuously ashamed of your own blameable precipitancy, in venturing to speak as you have spoken, of the “little talents and ambition” of so great a man—whom, it seems, you “do not know!” I must, however, declare, that I am equally pleased with your candour, in inserting this elegant and spirited rebuke, which you cannot but severely feel. I am only surprized you have not cried *peccavi*, and am expecting it every week.—Really, the fervour of Mr. Thomas Roope’s sentiments, and the splendour of his diction, are powerfully affecting.—Pungent, stimulating, titillating, they have caused a warm and tingling glow within me—“*scalpuntur intima!*” And as it is obvious, that his intention was by no means to excite the *visibility* of his readers, I can account for these feelings no otherwise, than by supposing he must have meant to provoke their *incontinency*; that by a surer criterion than the “temperality of the pulside,” he might form a proper diagnosis of the cases he has taken in hand, and consequent hopes of cure. But it should seem that you are suddenly determined not to be *cast*! Yet a second dose, though weaker than the first, is sometimes known to insure its effect. Let me try to administer it. As I despair of writing like Mr. Thomas Roope, I endeavour to compensate for my deficiency, by *quoting* him as much as possible; and may perhaps here and there, in my own diction, catch some slight whiff of that ethereal spirit, with which his pen is impregnated, and even super-saturated. So that, upon the whole, I hope we shall not have given you these repeated scourgings in vain.—I desire it may be understood, that I write, though by no means in concert, yet, in the most perfect harmony and coincidence

with Mr. Roope. There can be no doubt that since Mr. Coke became “*proprietor of the immense tracts of land he now possesses*,” the desert of “Norfolk” is become a paradise! These are not indeed the words of Mr. Roope, but in a compendious form convey his obvious meaning. Before that auspicious æra, who *ever* saw any “sheep,” but such as disgraced the breeders of that “animal?” Who *ever* “paid particular attention to planting?” By *whom* was the “barley and turnip system introduced?” By *whom* were “layers regularly sown?” Who *ever* made the “finest wheats” grow in the “western district,” which (as Mr. Roope elegantly observes) was “conspicuous for its growth of rye?” Who *ever* saw men mow “corn on swamps, where before they had walked up to their knees in water to mow off the rushes?” who had “farm-houses and stack-yards full of corn?” Who *ever* heard “heaths groan for the sickle?” (which to say the truth, must be a very alarming noise to the neighbourhood,) Who, before *that time*, saw a farmer’s “wife take pride in shewing the management of concerns within doors?” (for which they are so very remarkable *now*!) who *ever* knew “maids receive public gifts for their good conduct?” Who *ever* got the better of that boisterous bully the “German Ocean,” till Mr. Coke got acquainted with “a man of vast geological knowledge, Mr. William Smith, mineralogist?” Who *ever* thought of *any one* of all these things? To most of these questions, if not to all, I am well aware, that some persons pretend to have answers to give, many and diverse and all “as ready as a borrower’s cap.” But to every one of them, Mr. Roope and I answer promptly and decidedly, **NOBODY**.—“No abuse, Hal, none; none, Ned, none; no, boys, none!” The *man of NORFOLK* has himself individually accomplished all this good; and I will presently make it as clear “as the sun-beams in a cucumber,” which Mr. Roope has *not* done. What! Is he not “Knight of the Shire to represent us *all*?” Did he not tell us *at the famous barley meeting at NORWICH*, of the solemn charge he had received on a former similar occasion, from that great statesman Mr. Fox, then in power, not to allow the alarming question to be agitated, but to keep **HIS** county quiet? Does not that sublime title *man of NORFOLK*, (which he has been “solicited,” to bear) in its own proper import imply, that he absorbs and concentrates in himself, all the inconsiderable good, which may perchance, have been done by others? Does he not “reign in



our hearts?" Do we not *all* "look up to him, with a fervour of esteem, and degree of veneration, which *KINGS* may EN-VY but DO NOT OBTAIN?" I wish to put these questions fairly home to the heart and conscience of every "truly independent yeoman" in the county, particularly and privately. I wish most heartily I could *poll* them all, by this intimate and searching *scrutiny*: the result of it would be glorious! I would manifest from it, to all the world, how right Mr. Thomas Roope and I are, in our exclusive admiration (nay *idolatry*) of Mr. Coke.—I cannot but declare my especial concurrence in Mr. Roope's commendation of those very judicious particulars in Mr. Coke's conduct, which place his wisdom far above that of *any other power*. I mean his *disinterested* plan of making his tenants "independent yeomen," by "long leases and favourable terms;" his building them "houses fit for the residence of gentlemen;" and "expending vast sums" in the purchase of the most elegant and "costly pieces of plate to stimulate industry!" Means and ends most sagaciously adapted to each other! Though such forbearance and such expenditure, taken together, may constitute a goodly revenue, the lofty mind of our *higher than noble* "patron" feels that all is well bestowed; and, from his proud exaltation he looks down with supreme contempt, on the little-minded patricians or plebeians, who meanly and sordidly think, that such precious possessions as popularity and electioneering interests, can be bought *too dear*. Mr. Thomas Roope and I cordially approve and admire. I cannot, however, follow my adventurous and enraptured leader quite so far, as to say: "Would to God that *every* Englishman's bosom glowed with the *same* ambitious hopes, and I should have no fear for England's safety." On the contrary, I should have very great fear indeed. Not that I at all suspect Mr. Coke of being inclined to do any mischief; but that in that case, among so many contending and inconsistent claims of pre-eminence, there could not be room for the expansion and free play of such generous and multifarious animosity, and the whole county would, (to use a Norfolk simile) exhibit the exact resemblance of one grand battle of turkeys! A sight silly and laughable enough upon a moderate scale, but on so vast an one, it certainly could not but be productive of great alarm and danger.—I warmly join in the praise of Mr. Coke's political consistency. It is no more than barely just, to allow that in the main, prominent, and character-

istic feature of his political life, the great point of paramount importance, to which he has uniformly bent all the powerful energies of his bright and various *talents*, all the rich stores of his rare knowledge, all the vigorous plasticity and elasticity of his mighty mind—he has been *super* eminently consistent! No other politician has been so immoveably firm. From the very beginning of Mr. Pitt's career, (at least, from the time of his sturdy and disrespectful *uncompliance*—*verbum sat*!) has not Mr. Coke always, without the minutest variation, declared and manifested his opposition, not only to the *measures*, but to the *man*? Has he not been known to proclaim, to all whom it might concern, that he always would oppose whatever might proceed from that odious minister? Was he ever once caught tripping, like Sir Francis Wronghead, in "saying *aye* when he should have said *no*?" Has he not repeatedly quitted "the solid comforts of domestic life, and the most laudable pursuits which can engage the attention of man," and travelled post by night or by day, through fair weather or foul; no matter—so that he could but get into the house in time for the division? Nay, has he not been known (when notice has been given of another opposition-motion) even to stay several days in that abominable sink of pollution, London, amidst "transitory joys," "glittering baubles," "empty parade," and "useless routs?" And when at an awful moment, his associates in opposition (and among them the generous and noble-natured Fox) professed that every emotion of hostility was extinct within them, when they sighed or wept, and said that death had put enmity under his feet,—HE rose sublimely superior to such imbecillity, and with more than Roman firmness, still holds forth an illustrious example of unshaken political consistency, more perfect than Britain ever saw before. Even to this day, has he ever been known to make a speech at any public meeting, political or agricultural, without taking occasion (often with the utmost ingenuity) of either making a direct and gallant attack, or throwing out the bitterest oblique sarcasms, on that justly detested *name*, that object of his rooted aversion? If such a man do not deserve the glorious title of "patriot," on whom can it be bestowed? *Such* consistency, characterizing the "whole career of his parliamentary duties," and "all his patriotic proceedings" (nay, constituting the main sum and substance of them, so far as the world has heard,) does not only entitle him to the thanks of the county, (or what by the courtesy of



party is called the county) but to those of the whole country; gives him a claim to the "estimable and lasting treasures of GENERAL ADMIRATION and UNIVERSAL ESTEEM." I cannot help offering sincere thanks to Mr. Thomas Roope, for so judiciously introducing this topic.—I come now to another subject truly magnificent; of which the world might have known nothing, had it not been for the warm zeal of Mr. Roope. How do I envy the honour he has enjoyed, of dining and conversing, at the "hospitable board," in the "princely abode," with "foreigners" of the first rank from various parts of the "world,"—even Sovereign Princes, it seems! How does my bosom swell to catch a share in that proud and triumphant exaltation, which must have been felt by WHIGS, when they heard *crowned heads*, speak of themselves with such becoming humility, and in meek prostration acknowledge their inferiority! "*We petty monarchs of little states, could have formed no such ideas!*" This is indeed inexpressibly grand! Transcendently sublime! It absolutely overcomes me! I sink under the overwhelming emotion of supreme delight!—I trust, Mr. Cobbett, we shall after this, hear no more of "little talents and ambition." But if you suspect that Mr. Thomas Roope and I have fabricated a specious eulogium, only to produce effect at a distance, come among us yourself! Come to our meetings! The admission is only a GUINEA! Take the evidence of your own senses! Behold our ingurgitations and regurgitations of intoxicating panegyric and port! Listen to the explosive and expansive bursts of involuntary and uncontrollable applause! of enraptured and enrapturing puff! Join in our animating choral strains, patriotic, potatory, and prurient! in the grand vocal artillery of "three times three!" Mark, and admire our homage so humbly paid, so graciously received, that humility and condescension exactly neutralize each other, and all seems perfect EQUALITY. And when you have seen and heard all this, then say if you dare that Mr. Coke is not "deserving of that public testimony of esteem, the inhabitants of Norfolk have so long bestowed, in electing him their representative."—Say that he "has not deserved those marks of distinction which he never received."—Say that the "kingdom contains two persons, one of whom only I believe to exist."—Say it if you dare. I defy you!—Mr. Thomas Roope, by this splendid and successful exertion of his masterly pen, has laid Mr. Coke under such especial obligations to him, that he certainly cannot be overlooked in the noble and profuse distribution of "stimu-

lating" plate. As I have done all I can to second him, I venture to express a modest and diffident hope that some slight token may be bestowed on me. If beggars can be allowed to chuse, I restrict my wishes to—a mustard-pot. While at my three-legged table, I contentedly dabble in it, to give a savoury relish to my cheese, I shall hear with delight and admiration, but without envy, of the splendour of Mr. Thomas Roope; who after a sumptuous banquet (a Grand Presentation-Dinner) at the "hospitable board," in the "princely abode," will gloriously replenish his honorary silver jordan!—"I could add a great deal more, but less I could not well say." And now, Mr. Cobbett, let me confidently hope, that the same candour which induced you to insert Mr. Roope's letter, will also secure admission to this, which is so exactly of the same import and tendency. In this pleasing hope I remain,—Your very obedient servant, WILLIAM SMITH,—Neither M. P. nor Mineralogist.—Duke's Palace, Norwich, 20th July, 1808.

P. S. I shall feel very much obliged, if you can prevail on your friend Mr. Thomas Roope, to communicate through the channel of your Register, the senses which his dictionary affixes to the following words;—*gentleman, liberal, learned, enlightened, dignified, judicious, beneficial, perfect, patriotism, improvement, admiration, esteem, encouragement.* I could add many more, but these are the most important, and are sufficient at present. The account I find of these in my dictionary (which is Johnson's, and I am afraid is in some degree *obsolete*) has puzzled me extremely; and I am afraid that by trusting to it, for want of better authority, I may have made mistakes of Mr. Roope's meaning in some places.

#### LETTER FROM THE AUTHOR OF "MY POCKET BOOK."

Sir;—The "licentiousness" of the pen of SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS, in your last Register, ought not perhaps "to excite any other emotion than contempt;" but as "the greatest fool that ever trod the earth" (to borrow a description from the Attorney General, confirmed by my Lord Ellenborough,) may, in the very prevailing party of which he is the towering head, find some congenial souls, "*Asinus asino, et sus sui pulcher,*" to admire his wisdom, and to believe his assertions, I am compelled to ask you for a corner, in which I may stand to make my defence. You have ably vindicated the right of freemen to speak the truth, and you will of course, be the last



man to deny any one that honourable privilege—*honourable* I call it, notwithstanding the meed which legal wisdom has prepared for those who exercise it in our enlightened day!—I was present when SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS, in his court dress, stood uninvited on the Bench, and bore witness against his neighbour, *i. e.* brother bookseller, and I appeal to every one present whether they ever saw malignity so overshoot itself; but it had its reward.—No one in the pillory (for speaking the *truth* or any other crime) would I think, since the custom of *lending an ear to justice* has fallen into disuse, have changed elevations with him. The severe remarks of the chief justice, and the poignant animadversions of the Attorney General, are well remembered by SIR RICHARD; but the cause, which warranted them, has, it seems, wholly escaped him.—He uttered no “*childish things*,” to use his gentle terms! With this fact, I beg to couple his assertion, that he never read anonymous criticisms or cared anything about them, and to add, that before me, at this moment, I have letters written by SIR RICHARD to a proprietor of a work, in which there is an anonymous review of books, and these letters complain piteously of the censure, which is there passed on some of his publications, and request a *friendly* conference with this gentleman on the subject. This being the case in one instance, perhaps we may say, “*ex uno disce*”—Latin again! I beg pardon Mr. Cobbett—but one slice is enough—we need not eat the whole of a goose to know that it is not sweet!—The principal object of my letter yet remains to be stated: “You must be too well acquainted with “the artifices practised by anonymous writers, to be surprized at learning, that “the report of the late trial between CARR “and HOOD, copied from a newspaper “into your last Register, *was written by “the very person whose pamphlet had been “the object of that trial.* Hence you may “readily account for the inconsistencies of “which the plaintiff and his witnesses are by “this reporter made guilty!”—These are the words of SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS in your last Register. Now, on the honour of a gentleman, and as I value my last hopes, I never reported or influenced the report of the Trial in any newspaper or in any shape whatever; and as I have at no time been suspected by an Attorney General (not much given to jesting) to have “slipped in my testimony,” I trust that I shall, at least on this occasion, have the preference due to my solemn asseveration.—I am, Sir,

&c. &c.—THE AUTHOR OF “MY POCKET “BOOK.”—August 8, 1808.

P. S. As to “the *respectable* character of SIR JOHN CARR,” domestically speaking, I am as ready to believe it to be such, as SIR RICHARD is to tell me so; but I need not inform Mr. Cobbett that “*quand “on parle d’ouvrages d’esprit, il ne s’agit “point d’honnêtes gens, mais gens de bon “sens.*”—A calf may be a very worthy calf—aye, and make a very good knight, but I have reason to believe that he would make a very sorry writer of travels, bookseller, or sheriff.

#### OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—(Continued from p. 213).—*Proclamation, dated Oviedo, July 17.*

SPANIARDS!—The tyrant of France temporised with you, to increase the number of his slaves. His ambition, his absurd confidence, increased by the intrigues of a vizier, and by those of a weak and perfidious court, led to the project of the arrest of our august monarch, that he might obtain possession of these dominions; and what tricks and abominations were not employed to deceive our young prince, and to force him into ignominious slavery! When he sought to promote the prosperity of his people, and the happiness of his beloved vassals, he met with opprobrium, sacrilegious treachery, the ruin of his subjects, a criminal compact written in characters of blood by parricides and traitors, a thousand enormities of which Nero was incapable, all which were deliberately concerted with a haughty Vandal, who meditated our destruction. Oh atrocious violation of the rights of society! Generous Charles! Thou who didst dedicate thy best days, those days which thou owedst to the well-being of thy people, in pursuing the wild beasts of thy forests, tell us, if amongst this savage race, thou hast found any so ferocious as the horrid monster to whom thou hast thoughtlessly sacrificed an innocent family, and a faithful nation worthy the best affections of their sovereign?—By such infernal artifice, Napoleon already reckoned among his treasures the massive gold of Spain and of her Indies; as if it were as easy to vanquish a people, as to seduce kings and to corrupt courtiers. But he is deceived, and most effectually is he cheated by those who are conversant in the arts of deception. He has forgotten that we are both freemen and Spaniards, since the 19th of March, a day of as much exaltation to Spain, as it was of terror and alarm to the black eagles which presumed to fix their talons on the



245] gates of our capital. Happy day which you have converted to the desolation of your enemies! Look, oh Spain! down the horrible precipice that perfidy has excavated, and remember the exalted happiness, and the immortal renown your enemies have prepared for you.—Yes, Spain, with the energies of liberty, has to contend with France debilitated by slavery. If she remain firm and constant, Spain will triumph. A whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies. Those who unite to maintain the independence of their country, must triumph over tyranny. Spain will inevitably conquer in a cause the most just that has ever raised the deadly weapon of war; for she fights not for the concerns of a day, but for the serenity and happiness of ages; not for an insulated privilege, but for all the rights of human nature; not for temporal blessings, but for eternal happiness; not for the benefit of one nation, but for all mankind, and even for France herself. Spaniards, elevate your natural courage by such sentiments! Let every tyrant of the earth perish, rather than that you should submit to despotism and to impiety. To impiety! Merciful God, let not your faithful people be exposed to such disgrace and infamy!—Spaniards!—Let every honest man arise in defence of his country; let your iron and brass be converted into thunderbolts of war: let all Spain become a camp: let her population become an armed host; above all, let our youths fly to the defence of the state, for the son should fall before the father appear in the ranks of battle; and you, tender mothers, affectionate wives, fair maidens, do not retain within your embraces, the sweet objects of your love, until from victory returned, they deserve your affection. They withdraw from your arms not to fight for a tyrant, but for their God, for a monarch worthy the veneration of his people; and not only for these, but for yourselves and for your companions. Instead of regretting their departure, like the Spartan women, sing the song of jubilee; and when they return conquerors to your arms, then, and not till then, weave the laurel crown for their reception.—The love of religion, of independence, and of glory, those noble passions, the preservers of great empires, penetrate into our inmost souls. Let us all swear, by the outrages suffered by our country, by the victims sacrificed on the 2d of May, by our own swords, bathed in the parricidal blood of the ferocious Napoleon, that we will inflict the punishment decreed by the God of Vengeance.—And you, rich men, rendered selfish, not patriotic, by indulgence, do not continue in ignoble repose,

but exert your means, that peace may be secured. If debilitated by inactivity, you are incapable of enduring the fatigues of war, let your treasures supply the wants of the indigent, and the necessities of the defender of the country. And you, ye venerable orders of religion, do not ye withhold the sums necessary for the support of the common cause!

(To be continued.)

PORTUGAL.—*Manifesto, or justificatory Exposition of the Conduct of the Court of Portugal, with Respect to France, from the Commencement of the Revolution, to the Time of the Invasion of Portugal, and of the Motives which compelled it to declare War against the Emperor of the French, in Consequence of that Invasion, and the subsequent Declaration of War, made after the Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations. Dated Rio Janeiro, May 1, 1808.*

The Court of Portugal, after having kept a silence suitable to the different circumstances in which it was placed, and to the moment when the seat of government was established, conceives that it owes to its dignity and rank among other powers, a faithful and accurate exposition of its conduct, supported by incontestible facts, in order that its subjects, impartial Europe, and also the most distant posterity, may judge of the purity of its conduct, and the principles it has adopted, as well to avoid the fruitless effusion of the blood of its people, as because it could not persuade itself that solemn treaties, of which it had fulfilled the burdensome conditions, in favour of France, could become a despicable, an infant's toy, in the eyes of a government, whose immoderate and incommensurable ambition has no limits, and which has but too much opened the eyes of the persons most prejudiced in its favour. It is not in invectives, or in vain and useless menaces, that the Court of Portugal will raise its voice from the midst of the new empire, which it is about to create; it is by true and authentic facts, explained with the greatest simplicity and moderation, that it will make known to Europe, and its subjects, all that it has suffered; that it will excite the attention of those who may still desire not to be the victims of so unbounded an ambition, and who may feel how much the future fate of Portugal, and the restitution of its states, invaded without a declaration of war, and in the midst of profound peace, ought to be of consequence to Europe, if Europe ever hopes to see revived the security and independence of the powers which formerly



composed a species of republic, that balanced itself, and maintained an equilibrium in all its different parts.—An appeal to Providence is the consequence of this exposition, and a religious prince feels all the importance of it, since guilt cannot always remain unpunished; and usurpation and violence enfeeble and consume themselves by the continual efforts they are obliged to employ.—The court of Portugal, though it saw with regret the French revolution begin; and deplored the fate of the virtuous king with whom it was connected by the closest ties of blood, yet did not take any part in the war, which the conduct of the madmen who then reigned (by the confession even of the present government) forced all governments to declare against them; even when it sent succours to Spain for the defence of the Pyrenees, it always endeavoured to preserve the most perfect neutrality.—In the year 1793, the French government sent an envoy to the court of Portugal, who was received with the utmost respect, but who was not acknowledged; for then neither the principles of the law of nations, nor of public law, authorised governments to acknowledge extraordinary changes, unless they are known to be legitimate; and no nation is, in that respect, to judge for another, whilst its independence exists. The French government, without any declaration of war, or any formality, began to detain the Portuguese merchant vessels; and, after the peace in 1801, demanded and obtained indemnities for these which the court of Portugal detained, to obtain a legitimate compensation, without paying any regard to the claims and remonstrances of the Portuguese merchants. The court of Spain, which had required succours from Portugal, and which, by the confession of the French generals, was obliged to acknowledge how useful and necessary they had been, when it made peace with France, not only forgot its ally, which it ought to have caused to be declared in a state of peace with France, since the court of Portugal, in succouring its ally to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of alliance which existed between the two sovereigns, had no intention to make war against France; but what is perhaps unheard of, or at least very rare in the annals of history, Spain then made a common cause with France, to force Portugal to receive unjust and humiliating conditions of peace, nor did Spain cease to declare itself the enemy of its ally, till the moment when the treaties of Badajoz and Madrid were signed, employing even the forces of France to wrest from Portugal a small extent of territory of the province of

Alentejo, on the side of Olivenza; thus leaving to posterity an eternal monument of the wretched recompense she bestowed on an ally, who, notwithstanding the ancient rivalry of the two nations, would not fail to fulfil the conditions of a treaty of alliance which existed between them.—The treaties of peace of Badajoz and Madrid, in 1801, are likewise a new proof of bad faith in the enemies of the Court of Portugal; since the treaty of Badajoz having been signed there by Lucien Buonaparté, the French plenipotentiary, and the Prince of Peace, on the one side, and by the Portuguese plenipotentiary on the other, the French government refused to ratify it, and forced Portugal to sign a new treaty at Madrid, with much harder conditions, without being able to assign any other motives than its caprice and ambition. This latter treaty was signed almost at the same time with the treaty of London, between England and France, which moderated some conditions, too oppressive to Portugal, and fixed the limits of the coast of North America, which was confirmed by the peace of Amiens, and this consideration of England for its ancient ally, was, in the eyes of France, a new proof of the servitude and bondage in which the English government held that of Portugal.—No sooner was the treaty of 1801 concluded, than the court of Portugal hastened to fulfil all its burdensome conditions; and to shew, by the religious and punctual observation of all its engagements, how much it desired to confirm the good understanding which was re-established between the two governments, and which ought to cause to be forgotten all the injuries it had suffered, and which certainly had never been provoked on its part. The conduct of the French government was very different; as, from the first moment that peace was re-established, it required all kind of unjust sacrifices, on the part of the Portuguese government, in favour of the most extravagant and unfounded pretensions of French subjects. Europe ought then to have foreseen that its subjugation, from Lisbon to Petersburg, was determined in the cabinet of the Thuilleries, and that it was necessary to combine to level the colossus with the ground, or submit to be his victim.—After a short interval, war broke out anew between England and France; and the Court of Portugal having made the greatest sacrifices to avoid war, and the harsh and humiliating propositions of the French government, thought itself fortunate to be able to conclude, with the greatest sacrifices of money, the treaty of 1804, in which France promised, in the sixth article, as follows:—  
“The First Consul of the French Republic



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consents to acknowledge the neutrality of Portugal during the present war, and not to oppose any measures that may be taken with respect to the belligerent nations, agreeably to the principles and general laws of neutrality."—The French government from that time received all the advantages of such a treaty; it never had occasion to make the smallest complaint against the Portuguese government; yet was it during the same war, and after such a stipulation, that it required of the court of Portugal, not only the infraction of the neutrality, but the declaration of war, in violation of all the treaties that had existed between the two countries, and in which, in the case of war acknowledged possible, it was determined how the subjects of the two nations should be treated, and all this without Portugal having any cause of complaint against the British government, which had even given it every kind of satisfaction, when the commanders of its ships of war had failed in that respect which was due to a neutral flag.—The Emperor of the French, in the meantime, caused one of his squadrons, on board of which was his brother, to put to sea. It anchored in the bay of All-Saints, where it was received with every kind of respect, and was supplied with all sort of refreshment. Yet, what is worthy of attention is, that at the very time the French government received, on the part of that of Portugal, so many marks of friendship and consideration, the squadron burned some Portuguese vessels, to conceal its route, with a promise of indemnity to the proprietors, which promise was never performed. Europe may hence conclude the fate which awaits it, should the French government acquire an ascendancy by sea equal to that it has obtained by land, and may properly estimate the foundation of the complaints it so loudly utters against the British government. England never made any remonstrances against the succours granted to the French squadron, for they were within the acknowledged limits of the law of nations. But the minister of foreign relations of France has dared to assert, in the face of Europe, that Portugal gave assistance to the English for the conquest of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; while it is a fact, known by all the world, that that expedition, which sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, received from Portugal neither vessels, money, nor men; nor, in fine, any merchandise considered as contraband in time of war; and that the English squadron, during this war, obtained nothing at Rio de Janeiro, or the other ports of the Brazils, except what is not refused to any nation, and which had

been supplied plentifully to the French squadron. The court of Portugal defies the court of France to produce any fact in contradiction to this assertion, which is founded in the most exact and impartial truth.—France received from Portugal, from 1804 to 1807, all the colonial commodities and raw materials for her manufactures. The alliance of England and Portugal was useful to France; and in the depression suffered by the arts and industry, in consequence of a perpetual war by land, and a disastrous war by sea, in which he only met with defeats, it was certainly a great advantage to France, that the commerce of Portugal should suffer no interruption; undoubtedly it was equally useful to both countries. By ravaging Portugal, by subjecting her to excessive contributions, in an unheard-of manner, without war, or any resistance having been made on her part, France has not obtained that advantage, which a commerce, useful to both countries, would have procured to her.—The court of Portugal might then justly, and with every kind of foundation, flatter itself that that of the Tuilleries would respect a neutrality which it had acknowledged by a solemn treaty, and from which it derived such decided advantages, when it was awaked from its security, in the month of August, 1806, by a formal declaration of the minister of state for foreign relations, M. Talleyrand to Lord Yarmouth, by which the former notified to the latter, that if England did not make a maritime peace, the French government would declare war against Portugal, and order that country to be occupied by 30,000 men. It was not with 30,000 men that the invasion of Portugal could be effected; but the Emperor of the French, who knew the security in which Portugal found herself, in consequence of the treaty of neutrality, thought he could take her by surprise, and this was sufficient to justify his proceedings. The court of England was alarmed by the above declaration, and proposed and offered to that of Portugal all kind of succour; but France, which at that period had arranged every thing to crush the Prussian court, which then alone bid defiance to the superior power of the Emperor of the French, while a twelve-month before it would not attack, and perhaps compel him to receive the law, and save Europe, jointly with Russia and Austria, found means to pacify the court of Portugal, which he then chose to spare, and could not conceive that a similar perfidy could be the attribute of a power, whose greatness should keep pace with that integrity and those dignified sentiments, which suit so well an exalted rank.—The war



which was afterwards continued with Russia, and which might yet perhaps have saved Europe, if the union of the governments which divide it had been as close as it should have been, still retarded the execution of the views of the Emperor of the French with regard to the court of Portugal; and it was only by concluding the peace of Tilsit that the court of the Tuilleries, in a dictatorial tone, such as might have become Charlemagne, addressing the princes whose sovereign lord he was, caused the strange demands to be made to the court of Portugal, through the medium of the French chargé d'affaires, and by the Spanish ambassadors.—1st, To shut up the ports of Portugal against England. 2d, To detain all Englishmen who resided in Portugal; and, 3d, To confiscate all English property; or, in case of refusal, to expose itself to an immediate war with France and Spain, because the French chargé d'affaires, and the ambassador of Spain, had orders to depart on the 1st Sept. about three weeks after the said proposal was made, in case the court of Portugal should not comply with all the pretensions of the two courts. The good faith of the French government is no less remarkable, with regard to the celerity with which, after having made that declaration, and without waiting for the answer of the court of Portugal, it ordered all Portuguese merchant ships to be detained, which were in the ports of France, and by that measure actually began hostilities, without any previous declaration of war, and thus carried a far greater length all the proceedings which formed its continued topic of reproach against England; which, after such a conduct, will be justly valued.—The court of Portugal might then well have adopted the known maxim of the Romans, and been convinced, that disgraceful conditions frequently saved those who refuse them, and brought destruction upon those by whom they were proposed; but on the one side it could not believe that the court of the Tuilleries made, in earnest, proposals which committed both its honours and its dignity; and, on the other side, it hoped to ward off the storm, desirous of sparing the blood of its people; and placing implicit confidence in the friendship of his Britannic majesty, its old and faithful ally, it endeavoured to render the pretensions of the French government more moderate, by acceding to the shutting up of the ports, and refusing the two other articles, as contrary to the principles of the public law, and to the treaties which subsisted between the two nations; and his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal had no hesitation to declare, that those

articles wounded equally his religion and the principles of morality, from which he never deviates; and which are, perhaps, the true cause of the unshaken fidelity which he has experienced on the part of his subjects.—The court of Portugal then began to adopt measures for securing its retreat to that part of the Portuguese dominions which is not exposed to any invasion, the consequences of which might create alarm. For this purpose, it ordered all such ships of war as were fit to keep the sea, to be fitted out, and also directed all the English to leave its dominions, and sell their property, with an intention to shut their ports against England, in order thus to avoid an effusion of the blood of its subjects, which would probably have proved useless; and to endeavour to comply with the views of the emperor of the French, in case he should not allow himself to be softened down by that justice with which the court of Portugal assested the rights of its independence, along with those which resulted from the treaty of neutrality concluded in 1804. The court of the Tuilleries, unwilling to agree to any conciliatory measures, and having demanded not only the shutting up of the ports, but also the imprisonment of all British subjects, the confiscation of their property, and the dereliction of the project to retreat to America, his R. H. the Prince Regent of Portugal, who knew on the one side, that his Britannic Majesty, his true and old ally, informed of all the transactions which were going on, would consent to the shutting up of the ports, in order to save Portugal from the invasion of the French, and who was convinced, on the other side, that there was no longer any Englishman in Portugal, who was not naturalised in that country, and that all English property had been sold, and even its amount exported, adopted the resolution to shut up the ports against England, and even to comply with the rest of the demands and pretensions of France, declaring, however, at the same time, that, should the French troops enter Portugal, his royal highness was firmly resolved to remove the seat of government to Brazil, which formed the most important and best defended part of his dominions. His R. H. then ordered the whole of his army to move to the coast and seaports; supposing that as France had essentially obtained all she demanded, she had nothing more to ask; confiding in that good faith, which ought to be considered as the fundamental principle in every government, which has ceased to be revolutionary; and feeling conscious that having done every thing in his power to secure the tranquillity of his people and avoid an useless effusion of

blood, virtuous who, to account ment towards would the inva time of descripti vious d the Prin kingdom assuring which succour English general received the good for he w prevailed the Por His R. in such have rall which v caused t Lisbon, miserabl was adv which v gen. Jun Lisbon relied on who wo most dr success, chastise many of he was e of order royal hig the only tion, ac had cons of his p criminal from be had not royal pe order to the spoil Portuga ed the ef unanimou adopted family, efforts posed, i Europe, of a gov



blood, he had fulfilled all the duties of a virtuous prince, adored by his subjects, and who, to the Supreme Being alone, has to account for his actions.—The French government there observed a line of conduct towards his R. H. and his dominions, which would be unprecedented in history, were not the invasion of Switzerland by France, in the time of the executive directory, of a similar description. Gen. Junot, without any previous declaration, without the consent of the Prince Regent of Portugal, entered the kingdom with the vanguard of his army, assuring the people of the country through which he marched, that he was going to succour his R. H. against an invasion of the English, and that he entered Portugal as the general of a friendly and allied power. He received on his journey convincing proofs of the good faith of the Portuguese government; for he witnessed the perfect uneasiness which prevailed with regard to France; and that all the Portuguese troops were near the coast. His R. H. the Prince of Portugal, surprised in such an extraordinary manner, might have rallied around him the body of troops, which were at a small distance from him, caused the English fleet to enter the port of Lisbon, and thus cut to pieces the small and miserable corps with which gen. Junot was advancing, with a degree of temerity which would have been ridiculous, had not gen. Junot, whose conduct at Venice and Lisbon has but made him too well known, relied on the feelings of a virtuous prince, who would never expose his people to the most dreadful of calamities by a sure first success, which only could have served to chastise the audacity of a man, who, like many others, abused the power with which he was entrusted, or who acted in pursuance of orders which cannot be justified.—His royal highness the Prince Regent then adopted the only measure which could suit his situation, according to the principle which he had constantly followed, to save the blood of his people, and in order to prevent the criminal plan of the French government from being carried into execution, which had nothing less in view than to secure his royal person and the whole royal family, in order to divide, at its own will and pleasure, the spoils of the crown of Portugal and the Portuguese dominions. Providence seconded the efforts of a just prince, and the unanimous resolution which his royal highness adopted, to retire, with his august royal family, to Brazil, disconcerted at once the efforts of the French government, and exposed, in the clearest light, in the face of Europe, the criminal and treacherous views of a government which aims at the universal

domination of all Europe and of the whole world, if the great European powers, roused from the lethargic stupor into which they are sunk, do not make common cause vigorously to oppose an ambition so immoderate and excessive.—Since his R. H.'s safe arrival in his dominions, in Brazil, he has learned with horror, not only the usurpation of Portugal, and the pillage and plunder, practised in that country, but also the shameful proceeding of the Emperor of the French, who, as the true dictator of Europe, dares to represent it as a crime of his R. H.'s that he has removed his seat of government to Brazil; and in his faithful subjects who followed him, to have accompanied a prince, whom all his people revere, still more on account of his virtues, than of the rights of his august royal family, which he has inherited, and by virtue of which he reigns over them. His R. H. has witnessed with horror the hardihood with which an attempt has been made, in an official paper, to proscribe the rights of his august royal family to the crown of Portugal, with which he will never part; and he is entitled to demand of the emperor of the French, from what code of the law of nations he has drawn similar principles, and received such an authority, claiming to this subject the most serious consideration of all European powers, who cannot see with indifference what has here been stated, and the introduction of a new government in Portugal, without his consent: as well as the raising of an exorbitant contribution, demanded from a country which opposed no kind of resistance to the entry of the French troops, and which, on this very ground, could not consider itself as being at war with France.—The most remote posterity, as well as impartial Europe, will see with grief similar transactions; the forerunners of ages of barbarism and misery, such as those which followed the downfall of the Roman empire, and which cannot be avoided, unless exertions be made to restore the equilibrium of Europe, by an unanimous effort, and with a total oblivion of all ideas of rivalry, which have hitherto been the true causes of the elevation of that monstrous power which threatens to swallow up all.—After this correct and true statement, made by his R. H. the Prince Regent of Portugal, to Europe and to his subjects, of every thing which has taken place between the Portuguese and French government; and as the emperor of the French has not only invaded Portugal, and laid that country under the most dreadful and almost incredible contributions, under the cloak of friendship, but has also long ago withdrawn his embassy



from his Royal Highness's court, and even caused Portuguese merchant ships to be seized, which were in his ports, without any previous declaration of war, and contrary to an express article of the treaty of neutrality, from which he derived the greatest advantages; and, lastly, declared war against him, according to the report of the minister for foreign affairs; his Royal Highness, after having resigned his cause into the hands of the Almighty, whom he has every right to invoke in so just a cause, thinks it due to his rank, and to the dignity of his crown, to make the following declaration:—His Royal Highness breaks off all communication with France, recalls all the members of his embassy, if any should yet remain, and authorises his subjects to wage war, by sea and land, against the subjects of the emperor of the French.—His R. H. declares null and void all the treaties which the emperor of the French has compelled him to conclude, and in particular those of Badajoz and Madrid, in 1801, and that of neutrality in 1804; because he has violated and never respected them.—His R. H. shall not lay down his arms, unless in concert with his Britannic Majesty, his old and faithful ally, and will never agree to a cession of Portugal, which forms the most ancient part of the inheritance and of the rights of his august royal family.—When the emperor of the French shall have satisfied, in every point, the just claim of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and shall have relinquished the dictatorial and imperious tone in which he lords it over oppressed Europe, and when he shall have restored to the crown of Portugal all he has invaded, in the midst of peace, and without the least provocation, his royal highness will avail himself of the earliest opportunity to renew the connexion which has always subsisted between the two countries, and which ought to exist between nations, which will never be divided but by the principles of an inordinate ambition, which, according to the experience of ages, have also proved destructive to the welfare and tranquillity of all nations by which they were adopted.

**PORTUGAL.**—*Proclamation by Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. Admiral of the Blue, &c. Commander in Chief, dated Hibernia, off the Tagus, July 4, 1808.*

**Inhabitants of Portugal.**—Deputation having reached me from all parts of the kingdom, soliciting succour, aid, and assistance, and stating to me the loyal, brave, and man-

ly determination of the people of Portugal to establish the government of their lawful prince, and emancipate their country from French oppression—I send, agreeable to your requests, ships, troops, arms, and ammunition, and have directed the standard of his royal highness the Prince Regent of Portugal to be reared, round which every loyal Portuguese is hereby invited immediately to rally, and to take up arms in so just and so glorious a cause.—To be successful, Portuguese, you must be unanimous; and, joined by your brave neighbours and friends the Spaniards, you must not be intimidated by menaces, nor seduced by promises.—Some months' experience must have convinced you of the effect of French friendship; it is now to British faith and assistance, aided by your own energy and efforts, that you will, I trust, be indebted to the restoration of your prince and the independence of your country.—  
(Signed) C. COTTON.

**ITALY.**—In pursuance of the circular address from the government to all the prelates of Tuscany, the archbishop of Florence transmitted to all the clergy within his diocese a pastoral Letter, of which the following is a passage:—As some of those who are subject to our authority, forgetful of the most sacred duties of a Christian, have dared to take the liberty of censuring the government, we admonish you, both in public and private, to hold the sovereign in respect and honour, and by your example and instructions to encourage the faithful to obedience. Remember that the holy Apostle Paul calls kings the servants of God; and the kings, of whom the Apostle speaks, were no other than heathens and adversaries to the cause of Christ. The true Christian is the enemy of no man, much less of the Emperor, for he is aware that his majesty holds his appointment from God, and that he must love and honour him, and offer up his prayers for his preservation.

#### COBBETT'S

#### Parliamentary Debates.

The Tenth Volume of the above Work, comprising the period from the Opening of the Session on the 21st of January to the 8th of April, is ready for delivery. The Eleventh Volume, which will close the Debates of the Session, is in considerable forwardness. The Appendix will contain the Annual Financial Accounts, together with other valuable Documents connected with the Proceedings in Parliament during the Sessoin.